

One can infrequently observe women walking from Minatogawa to nearby villages to sell their fish. Women and young girls also sell fish locally, standing somewhere off the main street with their hand scale (hakkari) and a basket or bucket of fish. Housewives come up, price the individual fish, often weighing it for themselves on the hand scale. 443 804

Like the Chinese scale, this is simply a round piece of wood on one end of which there is a weight. The fulcrum is a string, held in the hand, which holds the scale. The item to be weighed is put in a basket and placed on the other end. The weight is ascertained by moving the counter-weight till both sides are in balance. Markings along the piece of wood show the exact amount. Every village shop has one of these scales.

There is very little haggling over prices, although the housewife is choosy and will inquire the cost of different individual fish before deciding which one, if any, to buy. 443

Usually the night's catch is marketed the following morning. Women, by custom, receive a fee for selling fish. A woman who takes her husband's and his partner's fish to market (the catch being insufficient for both wives to participate) is paid her fee by weight. 443 465

25 kin (about 33 pounds) sold at Y30 per kin	Y1500
Woman's share, at Y5 per kin	- 150
Remainder	Y1350
Each Partner's Share	675

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The Y5 per kin is a selling commission. If more than one woman goes, the fee is split between them. Women pay all expenses and their bus fare from the commission. Occasionally wives alternate in taking the catch to market.

When the woman of a fishing family takes fish to market, she is doing more than performing an errand. Her skill in bargaining and general knowledge of prices, of the catch and the demand for various kinds of fish determine whether she gets a good or only a fair price. Generally, mature women sell the fish. Younger women, in the late teens and early twenties, often accompany the older women as helpers and gradually are initiated into the tricks of the trade. Young women, not being skillful, are more likely to accept the first offer, or to sell below the highest price obtainable. One source of family quarreling (fufukonka) is the anger of a husband when his wife has sold at a lower price than his neighbor's wife. Women who have children leave them with a relative, or an older daughter. When the wife of the family is unable to sell the fish because her children are too young, the chore is taken over by a woman relative. In Minatogawa, this substitute work also is often done by widows who, in addition, might sell fish caught by male relatives. 443 562 [578] [855] [589]

The money earned by women in the marketing of the fish, after 000

In Hanashiro, the fish were raised for sale by the young men's association. The supply of fish is too uncertain and too seasonal for these remedies to be an effective part of the traditional medicine. Like the native plants, and many of the traditional medical practices, they are yielding to the drugs which can be found in the small village shops: stomach and headache powders, eye lotions, aspirin, and other pharmaceuticals and patent medicines.

The economic and occupational organization of village fishing is very informal. Partnerships are made on a basis of friendship and continue so until one party, for any reason, decides to leave. There are about 40 of these partnerships among the 120 odd adult fishermen.² The fishermen of the village also have a fisherman's association (*suisankumiai*) similar in function to the agricultural associations which the Japanese instituted throughout the empire. This association has a head (*suisankumiaichō*). Like so many official and administrative jobs in a village, these offices are thrust upon the man. He seldom seeks them. In the larger places where there is more remuneration, the man might seek the job. The head of the association is chosen by the fishermen of the village. He receives ¥10 a month for each fisherman he represents. This is a supplementary job, as he could not exist on this sum. Lack of cash prevents any ambitious services to the membership. The association buys and sells gas and oil, nets, lines, hooks, and other necessary items which have been imported either from the United States or from Japan. Occasionally, the association has sufficient funds for small temporary loans for purchasing imported gear, loans from ¥100 to ¥500 for a period of a week or two. The main function of the association is the exchange of information between the local head and representatives from the larger association in Naha. This becomes a study of the daily market demands; the information provided is a guide to fishermen in meeting the demand. This is all very informal. The head of the association circulates among the fishermen, giving them tips on what to expect and how prices are going.

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The Rough Language of Minatogawa

The Minatogawans have one characteristic which is not shared by their agricultural neighbors of Nagano, nor indeed by any of the agricultural villages. This is their rough (*arai*) language, so described by Minatogawans with a certain amount of pride. This language, if used in the other village, would be considered insulting. It is notable for the freedom with which nicknames, some funny, some disparaging, some pointed at infirmities, are used.

² The word used here is *kumiai* but actually these partnerships do not have the organized co-operative character that this word usually implies when used in an economic sense.

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435 (1951-52) is from 1300-400 per taubo (about four square yards), much higher than ordinary agricultural land. The price varies with supposed quality. The good judgment of the purchaser is necessary for success. He must estimate the quantity of stone, its depth, whether there may be cracks, fissures, or black streaks below, and the effect of underground water as he cuts down deeper. In a year, a good stonemason can remove stone from about four taubo of land. If he has extra capital, he may hire help.

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472 The types of employment found are either the single operator or the small operator who has one or more employees. The industry is not notable for large capital outlays, or many employees of a single operator. A simple partnership is common. There may be some division of labor, with the owner of the rights doing all the cutting, while a friend or relative who does this as a secondary occupation assists in the removal of the stone and in loading it on a horse cart. The operator who has a piece of land too large to work by himself may hire someone. The employee (yatoi in Japanese, ninpu in Okinawan) is paid according to skill: ¥100 a day for a beginning 17 or 18 year old boy, ¥150 to the experienced, and ¥200 to the worker who can do all phases of the work quickly and skillfully.

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[A65] Much depends on the nature of the stone being worked. This varies by locality and with moisture content. It will require 8 hours for a man to cut a six shaku (about six feet) length of hard rock 1 shaku 2 sun (14.4 inches) deep, but he may be able to make three cuttings of moist or wet rock in the same period. Working time naturally varies with the strength and skill of the cutter. For this reason, piece work payment is common. The employee, however, may work unused portions of the holdings, receiving two-thirds of the value of the stone cut.

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Tools and Types of Stone Cut

413 Six tools are used in cutting and extracting the sandstone: (1) the hichi (Okinawan). This tool, about six feet long, resembles a crow bar, but has a sharp chisel edge for cutting the stone. (2) A sharp hand axe (one in Japanese, yuki in Okinawan) for chipping and finishing, (3) the ishiyuki, a smaller axe, used like the yuki, for chipping and finishing but principally in shaping pyramidal stones (kenchi). The tool is also used to knock off the rough edges of the stone, where it has been split, an operation often performed by old men. (4) The kusukacha (Okinawan). This reminds one of a small light golf iron. It has a handle four or five feet long with a metal strip attached at an angle to one end. It is used to rake off chippings and dust that accumulate in the groove while the cut is being made with the long chisel. (5) Wedges (iya in Okinawan), and (6) sledge hammers are used to split off the stone after the cut has been made.

316 Methods of working with these tools are very simple. The surface dirt is cleared away until the stone to be cut is visible and clean.

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tion, but the village receives payment, through the township, from the central government for this labor. In November 1951, the rate was ¥80 per day for each male, and ¥50 for each female. Married women do not participate, except to take the place of a husband who cannot attend. This community project is a continuation of pre-war custom. On the day set aside for this work, the participants are taken part way by truck or bus. A half hour walk over the paths, often leading through dense thickets, brings them to the site selected. Everyone brings his own lunch, perhaps in a little metal box, or merely wrapped in banana leaves. Around noon, the girls take their buckets, go down hill to the stream, and carry up the water for the tea. Weeds and grasses, especially miscanthus and the dwarf bamboo are cleared cut from the predominating shii and pine. A shii is known here as the shigi or shija. When work begins the area is almost an impenetrable thicket. The grasses and the thick dwarf bamboo have grown up in dense stands among the trees. Only these grasses are cut. Trees are not touched, except for the very young ones in overcrowded spots; or the malformed and dying trees. With the brush and grasses cut, the stand of trees is still dense.

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When the undergrowth has been cut down, one can walk through the area. The cuttings, as well as the litter on the forest floor, are not removed. This wise practice keeps the soils at least at their normal productivity. In this area, the relatively low density of population, the scattering of settlement, the large areas of forest compared with the cultivated areas have not brought about conditions requiring the removal of forest litter for fertilizing fields and for fuel, a practice which creates acute problems in Japan.⁹

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The work is supervised by a forestry official living in the village but an employee of the township. His supervision is nominal, as everyone knows what is to be done and how to do it. Like all officials of a village, he is a friend, neighbor, or relative of those who participate. He checks off the names of those who have reported. On returning from the forest at five in the afternoon, most of the villagers bring back some wood, perhaps a long pole, a bunch of dwarf bamboo, or miscanthus to make an outdoor broom. They are lighthearted as they return single file along the winding paths back to the village.

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Pine cones are gathered for their seeds by the co-operative effort of the villagers. The cones are soaked in water so the seeds can be removed more easily. The village office takes the seeds, gives them to the township office which sells them to the central government for planting purposes. Once a year, the village receives 10% of the amount of seeds it collected for its own planting purposes.

⁹ A report on Japanese natural resources, as cited, 358.

843 pregnancy are also said to be rare, although miscarriages in later pregnancy up to two or three months before the birth are more numerous because of the continuing heavy work of the mother in the fields. The mother in the agricultural village normally works up to the time for the birth. She eats her normal diet. After birth, the child is placed on a large comforter (futon) beside the mother.

844 The midwife, after delivery, goes once a day for a week to the mother's home. Her fee is not decided upon before hand, but according to custom, averages ¥350 for a normal and ¥500 for a difficult birth, a low fee probably enforced by the poverty and lack of cash of farm families. (In Naha corresponding fees are said to be ¥1-2000).

853 There is no uniform way of feeding the child after birth. In most cases the child is not breast fed until after the third day due to the fact that mothers have little milk at this time. The first, second, and the third days it is fed warm water with small amounts of white sugar, but this is by no means universal. Some mothers have said that they give the child the breast 4 or 5 hours after birth. In any case, the child very quickly becomes accustomed to feeding at the breast, and this continues for an indeterminate period, depending on the mother and the child. It may be for two years, or until the next child comes. In all communities studied, other arrangements are made in the unlikely event that the mother does not have milk of her own. The child may be given evaporated cow's milk or friends or relatives nurse the child. In Minatogawa, if a woman has special duties or takes a trip out of town and cannot take her child with her, she can pay to have it nursed.

843 One belief regarding pregnancy still exists among the old in the Ginoza area. If a new house is being built during the pregnancy of the woman of the house, the cap of the roof is not put on until after the birth has taken place.

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Birth Customs and Convalescence

852 In Minatogawa, and to a much lesser extent in Hanashiro, birth customs are related to certain beliefs about the pig pen. These were not known in Matsuda. In the two southern villages they have virtually disappeared, except among the old. According to a Hanashiro farmer's wife, the child on the day of its birth is washed, dressed in new clothes, and carried to the pig pen, which is supposed to frighten away evil spirits (bakemono).

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[84] See footnote 1, bottom of p. 257 - Analyst

vary according to the problems and conditions in a village. The first meeting of the year is usually held around Jan. 2, when there is a party. The young men, even those of 17 drink sake at this time. Young women, who do not drink, contribute gifts of candy and soft drinks.

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In Hanashiro, the young men cultivate a field of their own and sell the produce. They maintain a carp pond. (Before the war, there were two such ponds). They also work out for wages. Every morning rotating groups work for two hours either in the association's field or for wages. This is done before the daily work. Their earnings of 18 an hour, low by Okinawan standards, are accumulated for special projects, such as the annual athletic meet. Occasionally they help with road maintenance, though this is a job for all the people of the village. The carp in the pond are sold to the villagers, normally in July, for medicinal purposes.

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In Minatogawa, the young men's and the young women's association are combined. The head is a young man, the second in charge a young woman. They help in times of emergency and with repairing of typhoon damage. Since there are no fields or carp ponds, they are not so active as the young men of the agricultural villages. Sometimes they do night guard duty around the village, though this practice now has fallen into disuse.

In Matsuda, the association performs tasks similar to those in Hanashiro. Rotating groups, arising at 4 in the morning, do two or three hours work before starting their own. Absentees are fined 120 and tardy members 15. The young men grow sugar cane on land loaned free of charge by farmers. The purpose of the project is to increase sugar cane production by providing transplants. The Matsuda group also works in the forests, for which they receive 1100 per day per person. With the permission of the village headman, they get firewood from the forests, sell it to provide funds for their projects. They stand by during typhoons. But they also have discontinued the custom of providing a 3 or 4 member patrol to walk around the village in the early morning hours. Since thievery is uncommon, the patrolling is no longer required. When the village gong sounds a fire alarm, all the young men assemble. At the harvest festivals, such as the autumnal equinoctial holiday, the young men may present a play, do Okinawan dances, and supply the motive power for the village lion.

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The leader (danchō) of a young man's association usually is from the older age group. Meetings are held twice a month, normally on the 1st and 15th. The annual parties are either at the beginning or the end of the year. In all the villages, the young men's associations have a leading part in the annual athletic meetings. Most of their accumulated funds are expended at this time. They not only participate, but do much of the preparatory work in co-operation with the school teachers.

One result of membership in the young men's associations is that the age range (an 8 year span) of one's acquaintance is broadened.

Their acts are enforced in each of the villages by the headman. 632 622

The village headman (kuchō) is an intermediary between the people and the township government. He listens to complaints from his people, carries them to the township government for a hearing, and has supervision over official community projects and activities. The headman, like the mayor, is a busy, hardworking man. His pay, insufficient to live on, is midway between a salary and an honorarium. The headman of Hanashiro, for example, received ¥720 per month, Minatogawa 1950, and Matsuda ¥2000 a month.⁵ The headman usually has a paid clerk (shoki) who works full time and may receive more pay than the headman. The clerk compiles reports of the village population, assists the headman at meetings, and is a general administrative assistant. [465] [624] 622

The village headman is elected for a period of one year. There is no campaigning. The election generally is preceded by discussions among the heads of households, village elders, the young men's association and the women's association. These discussions reveal the candidates who are able to do the work and have the leisure and the money to undertake the responsibility. [66]

A village headman usually leads a harried life. Most of them regard their term as a duty to be discharged rather than a beginning of a career in office holding. A former village headman of Hanashiro said that, in addition to the formal meetings he attended at the township office, he had to visit the village office at least 15 times a month on some village problem, such as taxes, health and sanitation, or individual complaints. The village headman of Minatogawa had a constant succession of problems: reports on overdue fishermen, getting water pipe lines from the mountains to the water tank repaired, taking charge of typhoon damage repair, and trying to have small improvements made in the village. The headman is caught between the township officials who need tax money and the villagers who complain that they have so little money with which to pay them. In Matsuda, there was the same multiplication of problems involving taxes, need for extra school supplies or repairs, and road maintenance. [651]

Village headmen belong to no special age group. In one township, they ranged in age from 30 to 52. Age is not a decisive factor in their selection, but reputation, literacy, and friendliness are. Though there is a change in administration each year, the incumbent headman stays on one month after the close of his term until the new one has become accustomed to his duties. In some villages, the clerk is elected at the same time as the village headman. [624]

The village headman does not have, nor does he desire, complete responsibility for administering the village. Two groups are available for advice. The headman will not make decisions on important non-routine matters without consulting them. The first of these, the village council 623

⁵ For comparative purposes, the minimum wage for young Okinawan girls employed as maids for US personnel was about ¥100 (\$9.17) per month. [465]

358 children, whether in primary, junior, or senior high school, clean up the grounds and do repair and upkeep work. Young teachers, many of whom are single, supervise the work, and often stay during the evening hours to plan the day's work or to study. Male teachers are night watchmen at the school, sleeping there in rotation.

346 The main problems of education are (1) adequate school buildings. Their condition reflects the haphazard tragedies of war. Schools vary in quality from place to place. The high school at Ginoza and the elementary school at Matsuda, for example, are excellent buildings; in other places, such as Gushichan village, the classroom buildings are little more than shanties with thatched roofs, and a siding of boards, corrugated iron, or other materials at hand. At typhoon times, some of these are flattened, and it is normal to see school children helping to clear the grounds and putting on new thatch. It is my impression generally that conditions are worse in southern Okinawa than in the northern area where war destruction was much less. The Civil Administration is well aware of these problems and the school construction program is, to all appearances, progressing. (2) Much the same situation and for the same reasons, exists with regard to school equipment. Ricketty chairs, old benches, bad blackboards contrast with the equipment of the new schools or of the old which escaped destruction.

875 (3) The post-war period has made a difference in the status of the school teacher (sensei). The destruction and disruption of the war, scarcity, high prices and low salaries have made his position in most cases a precarious one. Before the war, the school teacher had prestige and money. Only the prestige remains. One high school principal estimated that the post-war prices have increased 100 times, the teachers' salaries about fifty times. Immediately before the war, the starting salary of a beginning teacher was ¥45 a month. (The value of the pre-war Japanese yen was about US \$0.27). A school principal received ¥100 a month. Now the beginning salary for school teachers is about ¥2200 and for principals ¥5000. (The present value of the Okinawan yen is officially pegged at 120 to the dollar). Increases averaging about 30% went into effect in October 1951.

[555] The school teacher has little or no money for clothing; his dress is the same nondescript combination of old civilian and army clothing that one sees on everyone else. This situation, serious in any country, is particularly so in a culture that has always regarded the teacher with such honor. The teaching profession is the source of many careers in public office. Even in casual observation, one frequently finds that mayors, vice-mayors, former members of the Japanese civil service, started life as teachers.

The Okinawan teacher works hard and enthusiastically, but new attitudes are appearing which must be recognized. There is a desire to leave the profession, particularly noticeable in the male teachers under 30. Economic difficulties are reflected in frustration and discouragement. Okinawan school teachers, if the ones I knew are representative, have enthusiasm for ideas of democracy and freedom and for reforms that have

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- 313 which they use interchangeably. After sufficient trees have been cut and
[412] cleared of branches, a large bundle of firewood is carried to the vil-
lage. Most forest workers make four or five trips a day into the hills—
two or three during the hot summer season. As the afternoon ends, they
sit down along the road in the village or nearby to prepare firewood
474 bundles. Pieces of wood are inserted through a bamboo loop of stand-
313 ard size, prescribed by the cooperative store, until a tight, uniform
bundle is obtained. The last piece has to be driven into the bundle
by force. All over the village one can hear the knocking of wood pieces
[592] which marks the end of a forest worker's daily labor. Each household
works independently and sells firewood to the cooperative. A store
[436] clerk travels around the village in late afternoon, checks all bundles,
and issues credit slips to each household; these can be changed into
money at the store. The following morning the truck, owned by the
[438] cooperative, carries the firewood to Naha or Itoman where it is sold to
a dealer who redistributes it to individual consumers or public bath-
houses. The northern part of the island has always supplied firewood
to the population of southern Okinawa to be used for kitchen hearths
[354] and bath stoves. In recent years kerosene kitchen stoves have become so
popular that the depletion of wood resources tends to coincide with
decreasing demand.

TRADES AND PROFESSIONS

- 463 Other ways of making a living exist. A few artisans in Taira derive
part of their income from wage labor. A number of Taira men earn
their living by carpentering, although they do most of their work in
the south. They return occasionally when their services are needed for
local house building. When working on local construction, they are
• [465] paid in money, free lodging, and meals. There are also a few part-time
resident carpenters who, whenever they are not employed in house
building or repairs, spend their time farming and cutting wood. New
[342] buildings are usually put up between the beginning of the second rice
crop and the New Year.
463 Several persons are salaried township or village officials. They are
466 paid monthly and work a 44-hour week, not counting many extra meet-
ings and duties connected with their work. All office workers however
[647] have fields, either their own or those of their parents, where they spend
Sundays helping in agricultural pursuits. During rice planting season,
they are given special time off to attend to their fields.

Also among the salaried workers are store employees, a full-time

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director with assistants and clerks. The clerks are always young people just out of school who receive nominal wages in return for a seven-day work week. The township office employs as janitor a girl who keeps the office in order, serves tea at any time during the day, washes dishes, and helps to cook meals for entertaining. Her family owns one of the largest houses in the central village and more land than most others. No social stigma is attached to her job; in fact, most Taira girls would consider it a privilege to exchange their mountain work for her kind of employment even though they would earn no more. Another girl, employed by the local "doctor" as nurse and maid, lives with the family, eats with them, and sleeps with their children. Only one farmer employs a hired hand, a man from another township.

Among others living on a salary is the postmaster. His father held the same office, and his son is now trained to succeed him as the third in line. The rice miller, a man from outside the village and married to a Taira woman, and the "doctor" also depend for most of their incomes on specialized services. The latter owns his dispensary and small hospital. He receives some financial support from the township government. His services to people are compensated for either in cash or kind. Patients who are unable to pay at once will bring rice to his house after the harvest. These remunerations, pig raising, and other side activities make him, along with the rice miller and the postmaster, the wealthiest person in Taira. Local male school teachers also own fields, to which they give time in the afternoons and Sundays to help their wives.

The priestess and her assistants, although they are religious specialists, are not paid in money for their services. They participate in daily work like the rest of the village. Only when performing services outside the community is the priestess paid a small fee. Within the village she receives the food and sake which are offered in the ceremony, whether she is called by a family or prays at the village shrine on a general holiday.

DIVISION OF LABOR BY SEX AND AGE

Men and women are equal partners in everyday economic activities, both in agricultural and forest work. Only a few occupations are clearly differentiated by sex: fishing, the handling of horses, and the carrying of night soil are done exclusively by males; housework and the care and feeding of pigs predominantly by women. Some agricultural work is considered too heavy for women, for example, the turning of the

Although animals are generally bought for prices that the community considers as relatively fixed (see below), meat animals sell for a certain rate per unit weight that varies with the market. Old cows and bullocks are generally sold for meat at the rate of ¥60 per kin. Boars, if fat, are sold for ¥42 per kin. Male goats bring ¥20 per kin for eating purposes, and chickens bring about ¥200 per kin. Females of any animals are very seldom sold unless old and almost dying, or unless the farmer finds himself in dire monetary emergency. Nanahan, which has the greatest vegetable acreage in Tomoyose village; has a 'han'-wide agreement not to raise chickens, due to their possible destruction of young plants. 435

Buying of Livestock and Daily Necessities The war depleted most of the livestock of Okinawa, and recovery has been slow. Okinawan farmers frequently expressed their gratitude to the American religious organizations which sent goats to them to help in reconstruction. 727
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The reversion of Amami indirectly helped to increase the livestock on Okinawa. A Nanahan farmer described the situation in late November of 1953: 439
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Horses, cows, goats and pigs, together with household furniture come into Tomari port from Amami every day. The Amamians want to get as much Okinawan yen as possible, because it will convert to Japanese yen at three to one, and they think they will be ahead. The accelerated cattle movement started right after reversion intentions were announced. We are very glad to be able to buy the animals, but important people on Amami are afraid that this movement will deplete the island of animals, especially stud horses and bulls, goats and pigs for breeding.

Nanahan farmers have relatively fixed ideas on the prices of livestock. 435
For middle grade, or average, stock the following prices are quoted: horses, ¥13,000; cows, ¥25,000; heifers, ¥10-11,000; calves ¥9-10,000; boars, ¥2,500; sows, ¥2,700; and all goats, ¥300-400.

Before the war there were many people traveling through the countryside selling 'miso' paste and bean curd. Every other day such peddlers would visit even the most isolated settlements. Better roads and increased communications by bus and jitney have oriented purchase of staples urbanward. The only peddlers who now come through Nanahan are basket peddlers. Two small stores in the main settlement provide 'sake', noodles, matches and other small-cost items that are not worth a trip to town. 438
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Sale of Services Farm labor is drawn from the southern islands and from poorer families who are just getting a start in the community. In Nanahan there was only one full-time farm laborer, who was paid ¥2,000 a month, in addition to room and board. He had left Miyako when eighteen, two years before, because of a famine that was being caused by a sweet-potato virus. His employer was a man who managed a good deal of land---indeed the land that belonged to himself and two minor relatives---and sorely needed the extra labor. Another landowner was converting dry land to paddy, and after 464
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444 the bulldozer had done the basic shaping of the field, a new member of the
 • 443 'han' was hired to finish the pounding of the paddy walls. He was paid ¥900
 for six days' work, and was required to provide his own lunch. His employer
 had spent the first year after the war in Hokkaido, working for no money but
 receiving one 'shō' (3.18 pints) of rice a day. Later he rented a horse and
 cart from its owner at ¥60 a day and pocketed anything above that amount that
 he earned. During planting and harvest season he worked in the rice fields.

Horses are rented out by their owners to other people, but when a cow
 445 is rented the owner's services are always included. No farmer trusts anyone
 426 else with his cow. A man-and-cow hire out for ¥250-300 a day, depending on
 435 the distance they must travel. A horse is most often rented to pull the sweep
 379 of a rotary sugar-press, and is paid according to the amount of juice of black
 249 sugar produced. Various prices are quoted. ¥100 is paid for each 'chō' (100
 kin, or 132 pounds) of black sugar produced. One farmer charges for the use
 of his horse a flat rate of ¥1 for each gallon of juice squeezed. Another
 charges ¥60 for 50 gallons of juice if the renter lives in Nanahan or close by,
 and ¥70 if he lives farther away. Horses were scarce the first year after the
 war, and fifteen men together pulled the sweeps of the rotary presses.

444 Buying of Labor and Services Many times farmers have need of a great amount
 575 of labor in a short period of time. Then they
 are most likely to call upon the services of the young people's group, the
 'seinendan'. One Nanahan farmer in 1952 had this group make a paddy field
 for him from a dry field. In 1953 another farmer had the group make a 300
 'tsubo' dry field for him out of 'arechi', or war-destroyed land. The
 'seinendan' also hires its members out to work for people who need help in
 the busy season. The following daily wage rates were quotes: women and new
 445 members, ¥40; men of 18 and 19 years, ¥50; and men of 20 years and above, ¥60.

Abolition of the stringent Japanese regulations compelling farmers
 445 to raise sugar has resulted in the reconversion of many sugar fields to rice
 444 paddies. At first this was done exclusively by hand labor, but now bull-
 433 dozers are more in favor. One farmer had 420 'tsubo' of dry land converted
 into paddy at a total cost for bulldozer leveling of ¥6,300. The rate for
 machine and operator was ¥600 an hour. The farmer owns 450 tsubo more of
 paddy, which provides rice for one meal a day. With this newly-converted
 422 field he plans to have his family eat rice twice daily. Labor charges for
 finishing the new paddy will run about ¥4,000, according to estimate.

One of his relatives is a repatriate from the hemp-growing colony at
 Davao, in the Philippines. This man bought land from a villager who was dis-
 satisfied with country life, and hired a bulldozer to convert it to paddy.
 435 For conversion of 816 tsubo he paid bulldozer charges of ¥12,000 and ¥8,000
 additional for labor. He had bought the dry land ('hatake') originally for
 ¥65 per tsubo.

About the only other service regularly engaged is the hulling and
 polishing of rice. Nanahan people take their threshed rice to a neighboring
 village where there is a 'seimaisho' (rice-cleaning mill), and pay only cash
 for the service. They return home with the polished rice and the bran, or

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- 15th - Industrial Inspection of Southern Okinawa.
- 16th - Sunday.
- 17th - Extermination of all noxious insects.
- 18th - 'Kuchōkai'. Meeting of all village mayors at 2 p.m.
- 19th -
- 20th - Inspection of fields.
Study for preparation of new 'koseki' at Shuri City Office, 10 p.m.
Meeting of chiefs of all Public Welfare Departments at Okinawa Kaikan, Naha.
- 21st - Training class for office workers of municipalities. The following must attend: Assistant Mayor, Chief of General Affairs Department, Treasurer, Chief Accountant, and Election Secretary.
Meeting of chiefs of all Public Welfare Departments, Naha.
- 22nd - Meeting of chiefs of all Public Welfare Departments, Naha.
- 23rd - Sunday. Farewell and welcome party for new and old mayors of the municipalities at Restaurant Hanasaki, Naha, 5 p.m.
- 24th - Dispensary. Shots for children.
- 25th - 'Kuchōkai'. Meeting of all village mayors at 2 p.m.
- 26th -
- 27th -
- 28th -
- 29th -
- 30th - Sunday
- 31st -

622 Village ('ku') Government Political Organization A 'kuchō' (mayor of 'ku')
presides over the adminis-

tration of the village and functions as an intermediary between the villagers and the township office. In the latter capacity he carries the problems, questions, and complaints of the people to the township office ('senyakuba'); he also brings to the village directives and projects requested by that office and supervises their execution. In Kanagusuku-ku a 'kuchō' is elected for a term of one year and is not eligible for reelection; in order to be eligible

• [463] for the office he must be over 27 years of age and a household head. He receives a monthly salary of ¥1100 (\$9.17) which is paid by the township, not the village. The office exacts heavy demands on the individual's time; consequently the position is accepted with a sense of responsibility or obligation, as a duty to be performed, rather than for any prestige or other benefits which might accrue. A 'kuchō' must make frequent trips to the township office, at least several a week; in addition three times each month he attends meetings of all the village mayors in his township. Emergencies in the village always demand his time. For example, when a death occurred in the village, he walked to the township office and notified the officials there, next notified the 'son' policeman, and then he walked to another village to secure a funeral palanquin; lastly he returned to his village and participated in the funeral ceremonies. His home is usually open at all times to villagers who seek information or wish to discuss a problem. Often he is asked to attend to a minor matter at the township office in their behalf; frequently these are matters of a sort which might as easily be handled by the individual concerned.

One of his major responsibilities to the township office is tax collection within the village; yet, his actual powers are slight, as nearly all of his official acts are first sanctioned by the villagers or the township office. It seemed to the author that the chief role of the 'kuchō' was as an intermediary between the people and the township office or as an agent for the latter, rather than as an administrator. It would seem that the payment of his salary by the township instead of by the village is symbolic of his actual role. 622 [65] [632]

Assisting the 'kuchō' are several officers the first of which is the assistant mayor ('fuku-kuchō') who is elected at the same time as the mayor and serves for one year. He is paid ¥480 (\$4.00) per month, and like the mayor he must be over 27 and a household head. In the absence of the mayor he functions in his place, and on all other occasions he assists him in his work. A village clerk ('shōki') is also elected at the same time as the 'kuchō', and serves for a term of one year; he is paid a salary of ¥700 (\$5.83) each month. The main qualifications for this position are that one have a fair amount of education and a good mastery of characters for writing. The job holds little appeal since it demands much of the individual's time and affords little in the way of prestige or pay. In Kanegusuku-ku in December of 1953 three elections were held in an effort to fill this position before someone finally and quite reluctantly accepted it. 624 [465] [465]

An advisory body of four councillors ('hyōgiin') assists the mayor in his administration; they represent each of the four neighborhoods or districts of the village. They are elected at the same time as the mayor, serve for one year, and receive a salary of ¥20 (17¢) per meeting. According to the villagers this body has replaced the earlier yunshi which was an unelected advisory council made up of former village officials, the village equivalent of elder statesmen. The 'kuchō' never undertakes an independent course of action; he first consults the 'hyōgiin' and obtains their approval and suggestions before initiating action. 623 [465]

Each village of Kanegusuku-son elects two men to represent it in the township ('son') assembly ('sonkai'); they are elected for a term of four years. Older, mature men who have held several official positions are always selected. They also play a part in village administration and are considered village officials. At all meetings they sit with the officials, and their opinion is much valued. 624 632

All matters of real importance are submitted to the household heads who form the real body politic within the village. The electorate for the village consists exclusively of household heads; to vote in a village election one must be a household head or one appointed by him to vote in his place, but in township and national elections universal suffrage obtains. At one village election which the author witnessed in December of 1953 balloting began as soon as the meeting was called to order without any preliminary speeches or nominations. It was later stated that the election and likely candidates had been informally discussed among the village leaders and household heads so that there was no need for preliminaries. The same situation seemed to prevail when meetings were held to discuss matters of general concern; the apparent unanimity of opinion and agreement indicated that informal concordance had been reached well in advance of formal discussion and decision. 621 592 666

(their 'tane-hon', "seed books"), and who seemed to have little contact with others of their own interests. (I must hasten to add that there are also genuine local historians and folklorists who are critical, open to new ideas, and in contact with reputable men in their field; but these are clearly in the minority.) In the city the pseudo-scholar may be a man teaching a subject that he is totally incompetent to teach or he may be one of the numerous diviners and medical practitioners described in Chapter IX. Some of the diviners (santinsoo), however, could be better described as genuinely serious scholars working in a pseudo-science. 554

2. The Role of the Teacher

Despite the great importance attached to the family in East Asian societies and which the Japanese government has always professed to attach to it, the Japanese education system of pre-war times actually took more authority away from the family than does the American system. Incidents related by informants indicate that both before the war and since a teacher may reprimand a student for breaking school regulations outside of school hours and even in the student's own home. The police also may report the misdeeds of a student to the student's teacher rather than to his parents.¹ Partly this authority must have come from the teacher's position in a nationalized system of education and his role as the local spokesman for Japanese nationalism. And on Okinawa teachers had the additional task of creating good Japanese out of little Okinawans. This meant teaching the Japanese language as well as the Japanese ideology.² 871
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Since the war the status of the teacher has deteriorated. Partly this may be due to the fact that he is no longer the local representative of a powerful government, and partly it may be due to poor morale resulting from the tragedy of war, but it is also undoubtedly due to a lower economic status. Teachers were formerly relatively well-paid. In 1954 Okinawan teachers were receiving a basic average salary of ¥3400 per month, principals, ¥6110. A police chief, by contrast, receives ¥6470. An elementary teacher, who must have 12 years of schooling and six months of professional training, at present receives 75% of the salary of a policeman on the beat, who must have 9 years of schooling and three months of training; in the prewar period the teacher received 155% of the salary of the policeman. 875
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¹ See also "Police" in Chapter VI.

² That in this effort they were not always successful is revealed by a few anecdotes: Someone is said to have encouraged a child to interrupt his teacher's lecture on the virtues of the semidivine monarch with the question, "Does the Emperor produce night soil?" Students are said to have referred to him secretly as 'Ten-chan', "Emmy-Boy", rather than 'Tennō Heika', "His Imperial Majesty the Emperor". And the very old and the very young are said to have parodied 'Amaterasu Ōmikami', the name of the Sun Goddess, with "Aman-tarashi kuman-tarashi 'waa nu kami'", "dropping it there, dropping it here, the pig god."

464 usually people tend to regard these persons as fortunate. During the entire
 562 course of the author's stay on Okinawa he heard no sharp criticism of men who
 829 were in military employment, yet many statements were heard about women who
 were so employed. This dichotomy seems to stem from the widely held belief
 that the American employers have sexual access to these women, particularly
 [83] the maids. Okinawan culture affords its males a high degree of sexual free-
 dom, but not its females.

464 It is said that the women who are employed by the military are cate-
 564 gorized into several grades; the highest status is accorded to the office
 workers and PX clerks. These are followed by the kitchen and table maids,
 after which comes the maids who are employed in the dependent housing units;
 lastly there are the barracks maids, including those of the bachelor officers'
 and civilians' quarters. It is also claimed that these women can be dis-
 [241] tinguished on the basis of their dress. Supposedly the office workers and
 [17] PX girls dress in the fashion of Japanese business women, whereas the housing
 and barracks maids dress in American styles which are considered loud and
 flashy.

464 It is claimed that many young men will not marry women who have been
 554 maids in military installations. One young man asserted that these women were
 582 no better than the "honeys" (a term used by Okinawans and GI's to designate
 the soldier's mistress).

464 The low status and pay (¥1200-1800, or \$10-15 per month) for maids is
 466 offset to a large extent by the gifts, food, and in many cases board which
 they receive from their employers. Despite the stigma there is no shortage
 • [465] of applicants for these jobs. Another factor is the free bathing privileges
 which ordinarily accompany these jobs. Very few Okinawan homes have a bath,
 [515] and public baths cost the equivalent of ten cents in American money, a size-
 able outlay for the Okinawan purse.

464 Most of the discrimination is directly attributable to the sexual
 554 jealousy of the Okinawan male toward the women who work and often live in
 829 close daily contact with Americans. There also seems to be some discrimina-
 tion against any women in the category of maid, whether employed by American
 or Okinawan; in the past these were often indentured servants who had been
 sold by their parents into this low status.

186 Okinawan Attitudes toward Their American Employers It was the author's im-
 829 pression that even those
 who had worked in close daily contact with Americans for a considerable period
 of time shared much the same stereotypes of the American as those held by the
 general public. It must be remembered that the points of emphasis in any
 stereotype are often those traits which seem obvious because they are so un-
 familiar and hence not understood by the person of a different culture.
 Secondly, in every stereotype there is undoubtedly some considerable measure
 of truth; the important factor is the base of reference. Both Americans and
 Okinawans judge one another on the basis of different values and cultural
 backgrounds.